2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcь from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcь according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcь) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sьjьrcь) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çьlqьcь) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcь together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikhi-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɔstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Déscripsion des hordes*, 312.

[176 cont.]
348 spoken and who had been promoted to the rank of colonel for his discreet conduct during his stay with the hordes and for having induced Abulkhair's subjects to swear loyalty.

Here are the most outstanding articles of the instructions presented to Kirilov as he was about to depart. He was enjoined to do the following:

1. To build a city and a fort at the mouth of the Ori River, and to seek to attract residents to it;

2. To send the letters patent which he had for Abulkhair, for Shemiaka, khan of the Middle Horde, for the tribal chiefs of the Great Horde, and for the khan of the Karakalpaks;

3. To invite the khans and the elders or tribal chiefs of all the hordes to come to him;

4. To require the swearing of the oath from the Great and the Middle Hordes;

5. To send Sultan Erali back to his father under a good escort;

[177]

6. To maintain the obedience of the Kazaks by gentle means and gifts or by force and terror, depending on the circumstances;

[311] 7. In case Abulkhair or other khans or ordinary Kazaks wished to pasture their herds near the new city, to assign them lands for this purpose. And in case the khans wished to have [343] houses, either as temporary lodgings or to live in, to build them under the walls of the city according to their custom, and even to give them permission to build mosques, but to maintain a guard there for a service of honor and for supervision;

8. To designate the Ural River as the border and to guard it so that no Kazak might cross it without permission;

[692] 9. To establish a tribunal for litigations, composed of Russian officers and Kazaks chosen from among the most distinguished men, such as the sons of khans and of other sultans or of elders, and to see that each was judged in this tribunal according to the customs of his country;

[439] 10. After the founding of the city and after conferring with Abulkhair, to profit by the first good opportunity to send a caravan

[243 cont.]
x 648 662 subordinacy and keep them from maintaining friendly relations with China, the government continued to spare neither expense nor effort. In the instructions presented to the border authorities of Orenburg and Siberia at the beginning of 1762, it was ordered that the most distinguished of the Kazaks should be flattered in [431] every possible way, that presents and rewards should be distributed to them generously, and that those who wished it should have sheds and stables built for them near the border.

● [342 343] It was ordered that engineers should be sent to Sultan Ablai without delay to build him a house with outbuildings and the necessary storehouses, surrounding it all with a rampart to give it the appearance of a small fort (1). Such a mark of distinction was

1. A house really was built for Khan Ablai opposite the fort of Petropavlovsk, but only several years later.

very flattering to the vanity of a Kazak.

By these and other similar means, the Khan and the Kazak sultans were kept faithful to Russia, at least in [244] appearance. When Nurali, Ablai, and Aichuvak received the letters of information concerning the elevation of Empress Catherine II to the throne, they swore an oath of fealty to her immediately.

x 648 It is worthy of remark that Ablai was not the only one who, having long been a vassal to two empires, swore an oath to the Empress of Russia, without intending because of this to give up his ties with China. Khan Nurali, following his example, decided about this time to enter into relations with the court of Peking. During this same year, 1762, he sent an embassy to Peking which left for that capital with the deputies of Sultan Batyr of the Middle Horde and Sultan Abulfenz, son of Abul Mahmet, khan of the Middle Horde. They were all loaded with presents by the Emperor, especially the deputies of Khan Nurali (1), who was puffed up by

1. See the reports of the interpreter Gordeev on his return from the Middle Horde in 1763.

[247 cont.]

[248] The weakness of their power and their frequent dissensions are still almost unsurmountable obstacles to the security of trade, and even to this day they make it impossible to make the caravan routes used by the merchants of Tashkent, Kokand, or their eastern neighbors perfectly safe. As for communications with the Bukharans and the Khivans, Russia has another route, that of the Caspian Sea. Before the hordes acknowledged themselves vassals of the empire, it was the only route which served Russia for its trade with Persia and Central Asia. Catherine was not slow to turn her attention to this matter, and having rejected useless hopes from the promises of the Kazak princes, which were both empty and pompous, she wished [248] to concentrate all the commercial relations of her subjects with Khiva and the dominion of Bukhara in Astrakhan. But this plan was not carried out, on the one hand because the Asiatics did not find it advantageous for them, and on the other hand because it threatened Orenburg, Troitsk, and all the copper and iron mines established in their environs with complete ruin.

Nevertheless the intentions of the Russian government with regard to trade with Central Asia did not prevent it from supporting the exchange of goods with the Kazaks in every way possible. At first this was only done at Orenburg, while later it was begun at Troitsk and, in 1764, at the fort of Semipalatinsk. This last fort was designated for this purpose on the entreaty of Sultan Abulfenz, son of the famous khan, Abul Mahmet, and brother of Polat, khan of Turkestan. In the Middle Horde he was in command of the powerful Naiman descent group. He was independent, but camped in the former lands of the Dzungars, which had made him seek the protection of the emperor of China. Having never sworn loyalty to Russia nor had relations with her, he was able, without deception, to send a respectable elder to the authorities of the Siberian border to plead that his subjects have the liberty of trading with the Russians in Semipalatinsk. And this was immediately granted to him.

At this time Sultan Ablai requested the Russian government to send him ten tillers of the soil to teach his Kazaks agriculture. Catherine gave orders to satisfy his request, after having taken

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature:
the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle.
Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and care-
free shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of
Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune
of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the
cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and
idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks
only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols
of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the
small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots
and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the
Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and
in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance
and which they follow from place to place with their movable
● 342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other
words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with
felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part,
which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and
takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent.
These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way,
are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67
meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of
ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors
are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones
which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the
place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the
walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of
straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt
is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by 291 chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, 411 robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevêts] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca- 152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source 181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant, 221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the 132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[312 cont.]
have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place, for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some cultivated lands near the fort.

[314 cont.]

311 On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that all the Kazaks
241 can apply themselves to agriculture, for aside from their aversion for this kind of life, they have too little arable land, as one can see in the geographic section of this work [untranslated]. In addition, even assuming that these nomads did occupy themselves with the cultivation of land, would the products they grew compensate for the reduction of the herds? All the peoples who border
243 on the Kazak steppes need livestock, and they produce enough grain so that it is always a better bargain for them than grain which could be brought from far away. So that if neither the Russians, nor the Chinese, nor the inhabitants of Kokand, nor the Bukharans, nor the Khivans will pay the Kazaks the price of their labors as agriculturalists, what will the latter have to give them in exchange for the manufactured products which they cannot do without and which they pay for today with livestock?

175 [315] Let us add to this picture the physical revolutions to
132 which the surface of the Kazak steppe is subject. The Dimas and
312 Bascatis [rivers] which, according to Ptolemy, watered these lands, no longer exist. The Kenderlik [River], which indicated in the Bolshoi Chertezh, is no longer there. The Kizil-Darya, so often discussed by Abulgazi Baiadur Khan and which is still seen on the old maps, has completely disappeared. The Yany-Darya, which was born, so to speak, in our day, has already ceased to flow. The Aksakal-Barby lakes have diminished greatly. The high points of Sari-Bulak and Kuk-Tirnak, which used to be washed by the Aral Sea according to old Kazaks, are now at a distance of eight hours walk away. Many tiny lakes and wells have dried up entirely. Finally, in regions which are completely deprived of water one sees huge ruins which indicate the former existence of a large population. These phenomena are nothing to a nomadic people, because they move their location all the time, but they are destructive for a sedentary people.

181 Let us now recall the prejudice which has been implanted, and
152 is unfortunately well fixed, and has spread among the Kazaks, namely that they will lose their freedom (1) the moment they leave

636
343 1. The Russian government has built houses for the Kazak sultans (as for Ablai and others),

[315 cont.]

often as its own expense, and has used every means of persuasion to induce certain individuals among them to settle down, at least to provide an example. But all these efforts have been futile.

their tents to live in houses. Next let us examine the ethical relations of the tribes and descent lines. Vengeance carried out by one individual against another, the participation of their families in it, their auls, their /clan/ divisions, and sometimes their tribes, and the perpetual reprisals which result from this, sometimes require hundreds of families to move away from their dwelling places and to withdraw much farther away, forever, in order to evade the persecutions of their enemies.

It is thus that the entire Karakalpak nation, which had lived independently under the orders of its own khans on the [316] shores of the Syr [Darya], lost its existence as a state in the last years of the 18th century and was forced to disperse as a consequence of the frequent attacks of the Kazaks and the acts of vengeance that they carried out to wipe away old injuries.

In 1740 a large part of the Middle Horde, with its khan, Abul Mahmet, occupied the eastern shores of the Khobda River. Abulkhair lived most often on the shores of the Syr [Darya] or the Kuvan. This is why he wrote to Nepluev in Orenburg in 1742: "I am with the Little Horde on the Syr [Darya], and the Middle Horde is near you, General." Today it is the opposite. None of the tribes of the Middle Horde are near Orenburg. Several of the auls of the Alimuly descent line in 1821 even came to make their winter camps on the banks of the Ilek, although they had always had them on the Syr [Darya], as a result of internal dissensions, during which their enemies were supported by the khan of Khiva. At the same time several auls which habitually camped near the Russian border withdrew toward the land of Khiva. All this leads us to the conclusion that the present way of life of the Kazaks and the nature of the land they inhabit do not permit them to form permanent establishments, and that for their own advantage as

/202 cont./

000 life. by the way, they very rarely have to count to 10,000.)
805 Time is reckoned as it was among the ancient Mongols (from whom the system was taken). The year begins in March, and there are /203/ 28 days in a month. Time is reckoned in periods consisting of 12 years, each of which has the name of a special animal. The first year is "tshkan" (species of mice), the second is "siir" (cow), the third is "bars" /panther/, the fourth is "koyan" (hare), the fifth is "lu" (naukoobraznoye /dragon/), the sixth is "dzhilan" (snake), the seventh is "dzhilny" (horse), the eighth is "koy" (sheep), the ninth is "meshn" (centipede), the tenth is "tauk" (chicken), the eleventh is "it"(dog), and the twelfth is "dongz" (pig). For example, 1902 is the year of the hare (from March on); 1903 is "lu," etc.

157 The way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ has influenced the development of his lively sociable character, in which one finds good humor, hospitality, compassion, and honesty. Laziness, carelessness, and an inclination for gossip and feasting should be mentioned among the weak sides of his character. These features created and maintain the entire modern way of life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. In the summer the Kirghiz /Kazak leads a completely animal life, eating, drinking, riding, and entertaining guests. Work related to the economy and care of the family rests on the wife. Only in winter does the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to trouble himself with the economy

[142]
[291]
[342]
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221
594
[462]

Kirghiz /Kazak/ woman.

/205 cont./

342 [192] As a dwelling, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in summer use the yurt (more precisely -- the uy, i.e., dwelling, for yurt is a Mongol word), and in winter, the kstau, i.e., winter camp. In rare cases (among the poor) the yurt serves as the summer and winter dwelling. In the southern part of the region, where the winters are not so severe, average families also live in yurts.

We shall give somewhat more detail in describing the yurt, since the whole life of the nomad is concentrated within it. /206/ His world view is formed here and all the most important moments of his domestic and public life take place here. The winter camp is a sad necessity called for by local climatic peculiarities.

The yurt is a wooden, cone-like form, a lattice-work framework, with felt stretched over it. Because of its lightness and simple structure it is quickly taken apart and also quickly assembled, which is very important in connection with the frequent migrations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The framework of the yurt consists of the "kerege" -- a wooden lattice serving the basis of the tent (a section of it, made of 12-17 pairs of sticks, is called a kanat) -- and the "chengarak," which is a wooden circle with arched transverse shafts called "kul'dereush." The kerege and chengarak are fastened together by wooden arches -- "uka" -- which are inserted at one end into the opening of the chengarak and the other is tied to the kerege. The number of uka in a tent varies. In small ones there are up to 100, and in large ones there are 150-200. The height of the kerege, the length of the uka, and the dimensions of the chengarak differ in different yurts. The height of a yurt is four to six arshins. The yurt door consists of a rectangular frame one and a half arshins high. The side parts of the frame are called "bosaga" or "tayanysh," the lower side "tabyldyryk," and the upper side "mandaiga." The door or "yesyk" is made out of thick felt cloth or wood. All this is fastened to the "kerege." The "chengarak" is fastened to the center of the tent with a lasso, called "dzhil'-bau," so that the wind will not blow it away, or it is supported with a special pole called "bakan." From [286] the outside the kerege is covered with a woven network of chiy

342 /206 cont./
[286] grass (Lasiagrostis splendens), often beautifully woven with colored threads across it. This woven belt is also used in the
[283] yurt itself as a screen. When putting up the yurt, many different cords are used -- "arkan" /lassos/ -- among which the chief role is played by the "baskur," a woven woolen belt (up to two chetverts in width), which covers the upper circumference of the kerege, thereby giving stability and beauty to the yurt. The framework, which is completely made of the parts mentioned above, is covered with felt. Four rectangular pieces of felt are prepared -- "tuurlyk" -- which cover the kerege and lie on the lower part of the uka. Two trapezoidal parts, called "uzyuk," cover the "uka" up to the chengarak and cover the upper part of the tuurlyk. Six arkan, called "bau," are fastened to the uzyuk, by means of which it is drawn quite tight. Finally a rhomboid piece called "tyunduk" covers the chengarak. When this is opened, it takes the place of a window in the yurt and a chimney for the escape of smoke (the campfire is always laid under it). The door of the yurt faces northeast, in view of the predominance of southern and southwestern winds, and also is placed in the opposite "holy" direction (Mecca and Medina are
[280] located to the southwest). The best (white) felt is used on the
[531] yurt. Among the rich it is embroidered with colored threads and
[286] even with silk and lace trimming. The baskur is woven in
[531] beautiful designs, while the yesyk is also woven of chiy matting. All the wooden parts are painted, most frequently in yellow, brown, and blue.

[322] Special artisans, who are called uyge, prepare the wooden
[412] parts, and they do everything by means of a small hatchet (chapagot) and a small gimlet (uske). The felt is prepared by
[287] the women (usually of the whole village). They also usually
[462] put up the yurt. A good yurt costs up to 150 rubles, an ordinary
[435] one 80-100 rubles (in the Akmolinsk oblast).

/207/ The yurt described is not the only type, however. Besides it there are others that are used in special cases. Of these we shall mention the kosh, the dzholum-uy and the ablaycha. All of these are simplified versions of the yurt

/207 cont./

342 described, which are more convenient in certain cases. The kosh consists of three "kanat" (sections) of kerege. It has no chengarak, and the uka are consolidated at the upper ends. The kosh is used for traveling guests during the frequent journeys, and by shepherds with the herd. The dzholum-uy is a yurt for traveling and is distinguished by its smaller dimensions. It is [197] covered by only a tuurlyk and a tyunduk. These yurts have begun to come into use in the Russian armies which move about in the southern strip of the region, and they are known as "dzholomeyka."

The ablaycha consists only of uka driven into the ground, with a chengarak made firm at the upper end, and it is covered with one piece of felt. It is used mostly on long migrations and [175] journeys. The ablaycha originated in the time of the khan Ablai (18th century), whose army used such yurts. /Illustration appears here./ Among the ordinary yurts there are two types, the conical or Torgout type and the Kirghiz /Kazak/ cupola-shaped one. The former is rarely seen and is used in special cases.

342 554 352 353 [574] Just as the peasant hut has a "beautiful corner" or honored place, the Kirghiz /Kazak/ yurt has a place, opposite the door, that is considered honorific and is arranged with chests and covered with rugs. The honored guest is seated here on a rug, syrmak (embroidered felt) or blanket. The master's half of the tent is the part on the right, nearest the door, and is partitioned off with a screen made of chiy grass or a curtain. Food prod- [262] ucts, the kazan (a kettle on a tripod), a "saba" (sack made of smoked leather, "baursaki," cold meat, etc. are kept here. The bed, called "tyusek-oruk" (a low bed with pillows) stands along the wall. This is the master's place. Next to it is the chest, "kebezhe," with the best plates and dishes, tea, and sugar. The left side of the tent (near the entrance) is considered the back; a place is made here for the dog, the young ram, and the golden eagle. The poor beggars also sit here in the tents of the rich Kirghiz /Kazak/. A place is made on the left side also for the adult or married children. There is no furniture, except a low round table (in one corner) for eating.

/207 cont./

354 The hearth, around which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ love to sit, not only when eating, but also when conversing, is called "otbosy." There is a concept of happiness connected with it, and for this reason a sacrifice is given to it on certain occasions (see wedding).

342 698 The yurt plays an important role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. The paternal yurt ("ul'kun chengarak") is considered sacred. Judgments of important /208/ questions affecting the whole clan take place in it. The wife of a son who has received his [606] allotment is obliged to come to his father's yurt after the birth of a child, to bow there three times, and to put fat in the hearth.

[782] The Kirghiz /Kazak/ often swear by the yurt ("kottukadam uyumde aiz etemen, ar' kimnei uz' de uzike meshet'" -- "I swear by the sacred yurt, my yurt is a temple of God").

Kirghiz /Kazak/ children by a yurt (from a photograph by Bebenin).

342 692 Any person in a yurt is considered to be under the protection of the master of the yurt, and [291] [492] [516] → to offend the former is to insult the master. It is the custom, for example, to hitch gift animals to the door of the yurt, and if any sort of misfortune results from this (for example, if a horse kicks someone who is passing) the master of the yurt does not answer for it. And if something bad is caused by the horse of a newcomer, the latter answers for this before the court of the biy, since he is required to hitch the horse at the back of the yurt.

342 In general the yurt plays an outstanding role in the life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, since it is the place where he passes his entire life and where his family relationships and those of his everyday life take their form.

/208 cont./

342 361 Permanent dwellings are not as necessary as the yurt for the Kirghiz /Kazak/. Only climatic conditions force him to change from yurt life to a winter camp. The life of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in the winter quarters is not even life, but more a kind of vegetation since it is usually linked with great constraint, discomfort, shortages, and unpleasantness. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ himself regards his life in the winter quarters as a temporary and sadly necessary interval in his life.

On the other hand, these dwellings deserve attention as one of the links establishing the transition of the nomad to sedentary life. The winter quarters are the kernel of modern Kirghiz /Kazak/ land ownership and land use.

In these "kstau," the winter dwellings of the Kirghiz /Kazak/, one can see the most varied structures, depending on the climatic, natural, and historical conditions of the region, and also on the 184 economic status of the owner. In the mountains of the southern 342 Altai and Tarbagatai, the winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ are constructed of stone and wood and are located in the valleys and hollows of the mountains. In the southern steppe strip (without forest), the winter quarters are built of turf, and in the northern wooded strip they are more often of wood and less frequently of turf.

We shall describe the winter camps of the last two types, as they are the most widespread.

361 231 Just as sedentary peoples choose for their settlements places that offer the greatest comforts and conveniences for their life, so the Kirghiz /Kazak/ winter quarters are situated primarily in places favorable for the maintenance of livestock, the main source of the people's life. With this in view the winter quarters are located at the foot of mountains, on the banks of rivers and lakes, or on the edges of forests, i.e., in places where the livestock can obtain fodder most easily in winter. Such places are therefore not grazed in summer, so that the grass can be [342] saved for the winter. In the kstau one is struck first of all by the close connection of the human dwelling with the livestock quarters, and the absence of a regular arrangement of buildings. 342 The walls of the living quarters are made of layers of sod up one

/208 cont./

342 arshin and more in thickness. Above these walls there is a row of wooden beams, on which several crossbeams are fastened to support the ceiling. The latter is made of /209/ brushwood, reeds, and grass, and layers of sod are put on it. The kstau have no roofs. A small door is made in the wall facing the yard. On the opposite side one or two insignificant windows are fashioned -- or more precisely holes with only glass or a bladder stretched [354] over them (1). The building is divided into two halves; the

1. In summer the window frames with the glass or the bladders are usually taken out and stored somewhere to avoid loss or breakage.

front one is the dirtier one in which the stove is placed (usually an unbaked brick one, consisting of two enclosures, in one of which the kettle /kazan/ is set, while the other is used for baking baursaki, melting tallow, etc.). The young rams and calves, 342 the harness of the horses, and piles of other farm equipment are 353 also kept in this half. The back half (two to three sagenes long), 352 two sagenes wide, and 1 sagene high) is almost filled with bunks [231] on which the Kirghiz /Kazak/ eat and sleep. Stakes are driven into the walls, and clothing, the best harness, felt, etc. are 342 hung on them. At night the mud hut is lighted by a tallow candle [354] /sal'nik/ (a wick with sheep tallow in a cup). From all that has been said of the winter quarters, /illustration appears here/ one can imagine the kind of crowdedness, dirt, and suffocating heat the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have to endure in winter. In general the [184] winter quarters of the richer Kirghiz /Kazak/ in localities with- [556] out forests differ little from the one described, except that they are cleaner.

343 Close to his own quarters the Kirghiz /Kazak/ builds stalls for the sheep, which have the same structure as the dwelling, except that they lack windows and an oven. In addition two other sod structures are built, one on the order of a storehouse, 000 and the other for the dzhetak laborers. Then there are lighter

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev- [231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

• [342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts [132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more 184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle- 343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

184 /210 cont./
343 "chuchela," for the cooking of meat and for the laborers. This is a cupola-shaped, half-sod and half-felt structure, dirty and cold.
184 The yard of the forest winter-quarters is not as cramped as on the
251 steppe. Here only a shelter of sod for the sheep is made beside
231 the house, while the other animals are wintered in reed or wattled
361 shelters /prigon/ built somewhere deep in the woods. Thus the appearance of the forest kstau reminds one somewhat of a Russian village.

184 Among the southern (Chu and other) Kirghiz /Kazak/, along
342 with the mud-hut winter quarters, yurts are put up in the midst
231 of reeds, with sod and snow laid around them. Simple fences of reeds and saxaul /saksaul/ are made for the livestock. Among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Tarbagatai mountains, the winter quarters are built of stone and wood. Sod buildings are rarer. No buildings are made for the livestock at all, and they are kept in valleys and hollows sheltered from the wind.

291 The clothing of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ is quite varied. Among the men the underclothing consists of one long wide shirt ("kuylyuk") of calico or, more rarely, of linen, and short wide trousers ("dambaly") of grey or colored material. Over this they wear a long wool coat, or among the rich a silk one, always with designs or embroidery, and wide trousers or "shelbary" of cotton material, sometimes of tanned leather. Above this they wear a beshmet -- a broad coat of colored material or embroidered, sometimes of camel's hair, made at home. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ wears an "arakchin" on his head, and above this a round cap called "bork." He wears wide leather boots with high wooden heels, called "santama," on his feet. His light footgear, called "ichigi" (boots of soft leather, without heels), is always worn with overshoes. He uses a wide calico band as a belt or else a leather "kse." The latter consists of a narrow strap, ornamented on the outside with metal plates, or with silver plates among the rich. From this strap there usually hangs a small bag, in which they used to keep tinder and flint and now put cheese, "kurt," for the road, also a sheath for a knife (which is now used in eating meat) and a powder horn (empty). These supplementary pieces are also adorned with metal plates on the outside. In the winter the

/211 cont./

262 Kumiss -- mare's milk fermented with spirits -- should be
272 acknowledged as the chief food of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. A special
[252] bag of smoked leather, called "tursuk," is used for the preparation
[415] and storing of kumiss. A wooden /212/ /illustration appears here/ stirrer is used to stir the kumiss while it is being prepared, and each time before it is used. The best kumiss is found among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the southern Altai and the Kokchetav uyezd, as they

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Winter quarters (kstau) of a well-to-do Kirghiz /Kazak/ in a wooded locality (yard, the buildings around it, and the house).

262 have the best pasture facilities for their livestock. In summer most
[272] of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ live primarily on kumiss, drinking great quantities of it. Other milk products consumed include "airan" -- sour cow's milk -- and various kinds of cheese, including "kurt," a roasted sheep's-milk cheese with small curds, "yeremchik," a sour cow's-milk cheese, and others. Meat is eaten primarily in winter, and most often mutton and lamb, because it is cheaper. Horsemeat appears only in
[252] exceptional cases, as a delicacy. Meat is almost always boiled (in
[264] the kazan) and only rarely roasted. First the meat is eaten (with the hands) and then the fat, "surpa," is drunk from large wooden cups. Smoked meat is also eaten. Wild game and fish are rarely eaten, and vegetables are likewise uncommon.

443 /212 cont./
262 "kumiss pubs" /kumysnye kabachki/). In Akmolinsk, Uralsk,
292 and other steppe towns populated in part by Kirghiz /Kazak/,
[295] there are several such kumiss vending places, where it is possible
[435] to obtain a large cup (3-4 times the size of a teacup) of good kumiss for 2-3 kopeks.

[958] The nourishing and stimulating qualities of kumiss are well-known /213/ also to the local Russian population, not to speak of the patients visiting the healing places (Borovoye, Shchuch'e, Bayan-Aul, Ul'binskoye, and others) and summer houses, who drink kumiss on the advice of their doctors. The Russian popu-
[439] lation of the surrounding towns drink a great quantity of it in
[435] summer, for example, in Omsk, where in this season incoming Kirghiz /Kazak/ open a trade in kumiss (30-50 kopeks per
[273] chetvert). The Kirghiz /Kazak/ make an intoxicating beverage called "araka" from kumiss (by distillation), but it does not yet
272 have a wide distribution. The Kirghiz /Kazak/ also like to
[273] drink tea with sugar, especially brick tea. They do not drink
262 vodka and wine. Russian baked bread is customary among the
439 Kirghiz /Kazak/ near towns.

It was said above that the main occupation of the Kirghiz
231 /Kazak/, being a nomadic people, is livestock raising, but in
241 recent times agriculture has also begun to spread. Here we shall only discuss the domestic occupations of the Kirghiz /Kazak/.

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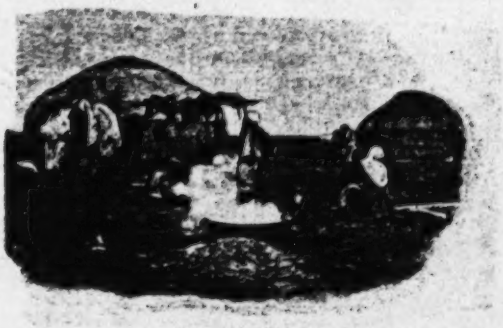

A Kirghiz /Kazak/ nomad village near Omsk. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

/218 cont./

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

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Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wedding and is called "korpe kiymyldatar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accom-

[431] panied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 23 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Kurbe and Makbova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

/The New Uighurs/

S 563 517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S 563 624 554 577 7. Guardians of national customs

In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S 563 K 173 1. The people

The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S 563 K 526 [131] [241] The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S 563 K 711 782 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.

2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S 563 K 221 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S 563 K 342 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols, except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

S 563 K 342 of stable construction. The common people build their winter tents with walls of interwoven twigs, sun-dried bricks and mud or soil filled with roots of grass. The winter quarters of the wealthy are of wood or stone. The common tent has but one room, shared by the family and their animals. The rich have K [556] [184] numerous outbuildings, corrals for the different kinds of animals, storage places for the hay, and even stables.

K [361] The settled Kazakhs are those who have, for economic reasons, adopted the sedentary life of the farmer. Usually too poor to own animals or the equipment to move around, they stay in one place for harvesting and making hay. They live the year around in the same sturdy tent, adding an inner-lining of felt for protection from the winter winds.

b. Food

S 563 K 262 [191] [202] The diet of the people is the same as that of the New Uighurs. They are meat-eaters, though the very poor cannot afford to have it often. Their special festival dish is horse-meat sausage. Their specialties for entertaining are fermented mare's milk, horse-meat sausage and pilav. Brick tea is used in quantities. Their pilav differs from that of the New Uighurs in that they substitute dried apricots and dates for onion, garlic and carrots.

c. Clothing

S 563 K 291 [191] [556] Both men and women dress like the New Uighurs except for color. The men's inner garments are white, red or purple, and their cotton outer robes are black. Women usually dress in white or black. Instead of a cotton sash, a man wears a leather belt. A rich man's belt is ornamented with stones, coral, silver or gold. Accessories such as a knife and a leather pouch are hung on the belt. Instead of a hat, married women wear long turbans of cotton print. After she has been married for a couple of years, a woman's colorful turban is taken down by her mother-in-law and replaced by a white one. This act indicates that the K [885] young woman has earned a more important position in the family, and corresponds to the "coming of age" of New Uighur wives. Young Kazakh girls wear their hair braided like their New Uighur sisters.

3. Social values, customs and etiquette

S 563 K 769 191 Traditions and customs of the Kazakhs are almost the same as those practiced by the New Uighurs. Funerals and wedding ceremonies are the same except that the Kazakhs celebrate the anniversary of a death with a big festival, like a birthday or a wedding, whereas the New Uighurs commemorate the occasion only with prayer. On this day the close friends, relatives and family members of a deceased Kazakh bring their own tents and food to the graveyard. The host provides food and drink. There are games and races, singing and dancing.

000 One custom peculiar to the Kazakhs involves stealing. The

342 From the dwellings of the sedentary population we move to the description of the nomadic dwellings.

The dwelling of the nomad is very unusual. It consists of a folding yurt (tent) capable of being easily carried from place to place. During our* steppe wars and campaigns the true value of these yurts was soon appreciated. They were adopted with particular advantage by the Orenburg detachment in the Khiva expedition of 1873, when the whole detachment was outfitted with them. During the Turkestan wars the yurts were almost always used during the winter or autumn campaigns, and in general for the movement of troops. As campaign hospital shelters these yurts were used all the year around.

000 The proven usefulness of the Kazakh yurts caused their introduction also as temporary hospitals of the active armies in the recent Turkish war. Thanks to the initiative of Dr. Priselkov, the Kzakh tents were introduced as hospitals for the army in the field. By order of the General Staff about 30 temporary hospitals were prepared in Orenburg before the war, with 5 tents /392/ in each, and all 150 tents were sent to Kishinev. Each one easily contained up to five men, and cost 150 rubles in Orenburg. The cost of railroad transport was counted as 45 rubles per tent. Thus 150 tents, with transport, cost 27,750 rubles. Personnel of the lower ranks , well-acquainted with the putting up and storing of these portable dwellings were sent with the tents.

*[i.e: Russian--Analyst]

8:Kostenko -97-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak-02

342 In view of the importance of the portable Kazakh dwelling for the needs and demands of our armies, let us examine this dwelling in detail.

The dwelling of the Kazakh must satisfy the following main conditions: it must be inexpensive, cheap to repair, easy and quick to set up take down and load on a camel, and in addition, lightweight, yet not carried away by the wind. At the same time to gain time in packing, it should not be too firmly fastened to the ground. It should contain in itself all the necessary property of one family, protect people well in winter from frost, snow and wind, and in summer from rain, heat and dust. Finally it should provide certain conveniences for interior furnishing, that is, make it possible to accommodate the necessary domestic utensils in it conveniently, to store and hang up clothes, and the like. Nothing satisfies all these conditions better than that felt tent used since time immemorial by nomadic peoples which is called yurt (orta or orda). It consists of four parts: 1) a wooden framework; 2) an interior 'chiy' (a kind of grass; see below) or reed lining; 3) an outside felt lining, and 4) various connections and supports both to reinforce the three preceding parts, and for the convenient furnishing of the yurt.

1) The wooden framework consists of three main parts:

a) a 'kerege' or folding frame made of several parts, forms the walls of the dwelling. These are set up around a circle, the diameter of which is determined by the purpose for which

342 the yurt is intended, or by the material available for the covering and decorating of the dwelling, or on the basis of considerations as to how long the tent is expected to stay there, etc. Each part or 'kanaat' of the kerege /393/ consists of two rows of poles, 5 or 6 inches (3 or 4 vershoks) apart. The upper or outside row of poles is laid on crosswise on the inside side of the yurt, but in such a way that every pole in each row forms the same angle with the surface of the ground. In this position the poles stick through at their points of contact, and through the opening which has been made a strap or strand is put through or tied with knots at either end. The length of the lathes in such a framework is rarely more than 7 feet (one sazhen'), the thickness is less than ½ inch (vershok) and the width one inch (three-fourths of a vershok). Consequently for one separate part of a framework which would take up 7 feet (one sazhen') in circumference, one would need 12 or 13 such crossbeams, if the space between each were taken as 4 inches (3 vershoks). Sometimes a kanaat has just this length, if 6 feet (2½ arshins) is added to the height of the framework with poles 7 feet (one sazhen') long. This height can be increased or decreased, let us say, by 5 feet (up to 2 arshins), by the length of the framework poles designated; this is done to make a yurt higher or lower, or to make the upper wooden parts, of which we will speak in a minute, fit more neatly with the edges of the tent. Thus the height of the kanaat is increased at the expense of the length, and vice versa. The poles, which turn freely on leather thongs, and are also somewhat bent inward at the ends, make it very convenient

342 to set up the framework along the circumference of the area selected. Usually they make the side framework 6 feet (2½ arshins) high, and the length of its separate parts, or kanaats, varies. Thus the length may be from one sazhen', of 12 or 13 poles, up to two sazhen's or 24 poles, and sometimes even more. The longer the kanaat, the fewer needed, and the simpler the setting up of the yurt because fewer bonds are needed. On the other hand, the large framework parts need repair more often than the small ones. Influenced by these considerations, the length of a kanaat which is 6 feet high (when it is set up) is fixed at 7, 10½, 14, 17½ or 21 feet (1, 1½, 2, 2½, and 3 sazhen's), rarely more. The diameter of the area selected for the tent determines /394/ the number of kanaats of specified size needed to be set up all the way around the circumference. And since the chosen diameter is always changing, under the influence of various considerations of needing to give the yurt various capacities, so every Kazakh family always carries along several reserve kanaats. A certain limit is fixed, however, for the extent of a yurt's diameter. This limit results from the impossibility of obtaining poles ('uks') which are too long; these permit the side framework to fasten to the top of the tent. Therefore there are no tents over 28 feet (4 sazhen's) in diameter, and 21 foot (3 sazhen's) ones are quite rare. Most of them are 10½ to 17½ feet (1½ to 2½ sazhen's), depending on what sort of property the owner of the yurt has, whether he expects to invite guests into his dwelling, whether everything needed for the covering and decoration of the yurt, such as felts, chiy (grass) matting,

342 rugs, etc., will stay in one place for a long time, etc. The specified number of kanaats for the size of the area selected are tossed down from the camel, and spread out along the circumference in such a way that the entrance to the yurt will face west, (1) then the kanaats are fastened together by small loops, and the foundation of the yurt is ready.

1. This is not observed everywhere and always, however. Usually in the yurts which stand alone, the door is really almost always facing west, but in winter, when all the yurts are placed close to each other in each individual aul to form an inside courtyard serving as an enclosure for the cattle, then the doors of all these tents open upon this square.

b) The chagarak or hoop, which forms the upper part of the wooden framework is usually made of birch and may have various diameters, from 56 inches (2 arshins) to 125 inches (1½ sazhen'), and various thicknesses, from 3 to 10 inches (2 to 7 vershoks). If the diameter is large or if the arch is not made of a single tree trunk, then from two to four lathes are put across the hoop, bent slightly upwards and these are intersected perpendicularly by others which connect the other two sides of the hoop. Thus in the center a small lattice is formed, made of one, four or nine squares. /395/ This lattice also constitutes the very top of the yurt, as the intersecting lathes are bent upward. The transverse connections of the hoop are necessary both for its stability and also so that the felt which covers the entire outside of the tent will not fall inside

342 the chagarak. The whole ring of the chagarak is a row of slits, more or less close together, in which the straight ends of poles are inserted which are attached by other poles with curved ends to the side frame of the yurt.

c) These uks or poles fastened together constitute the third main part of the wooden framework of the tent. Their number is determined by the number of slits made in the chagarak ring. The more uks inserted, the better the felt rests which covers them, and the better various objects can be hung from the chagarak, like meat to be smoked, clothing to be dried, and the like. On the other hand it slows down the work of setting up the yurt, because every end of the uk, as was said above, has to be looped on to the side frame. The length of the connecting pole plays an important role, because it determines the longest possible diameter possible for the yurt, as was noted earlier. The uk is almost the same as the radius of the area of the circle chosen for the tent, and therefore if they want to set up a small yurt, they choose other short poles, and if they do not have any they use long ones in the following manner: When they have inserted the straight end of the uk into the corresponding slit in the chagarak they lower the other, flatter end (of 1 to 3 inches, that is $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ vershoks) down to the kerege to the place where the pole begins to bend, and in this place they fasten it with a loop to the upper part of the kerege. Meanwhile the top of the tent which is covered with felt takes on a more cone-shaped appearance, so that when it is secured in the normal fashion it has the look of a semi-circular cupola. The other wooden parts of every tent are less important. The bakan, or

342 long thick pole (3 to 5 inches, from 1½ to 2 vershoks in diameter) must also be mentioned. The bakan must be at least 4 inches higher (½ an arshin) than the highest yurt. One of its ends is blunt, the other forked. The latter supports the hoop of the chagarak, while the blunt end is fixed in the ground on the opposite side from the direction from which the /396/ wind blows. In a heavy snow storm several of such inside supports are put up in every yurt for otherwise the tent would be carried away by the wind. In tranquil weather there is no need of a bakan, but in the large yurts the chagarak is always supported by them from various sides, because it is convenient to hang clothes to dry on the pegs hammered into them, as well as other things which it is desirable to protect from the soot which fills almost all the upper half of the yurt. To hang a thing on a rope stretched across the yurt is dangerous because of the soot, and on the walls of the frame it would be far away from the campfire laid inside the tent between the bakans. Sometimes a door is added, sometimes it is dispensed with. In either case the space left for the entrance is covered with a special kind of thick felt which is almost always embroidered on the outer side with various designs of plush, fine cloth, etc.

The Kazakhs store up material with which to build the wooden framework in the summer, when they are passing near wooded areas. They make and repair all the parts of the tent described above themselves. One of the better wooden frameworks for yurts is about 21 feet (3 sazhen's) in diameter, with poles which are nicely turned, decorated with red paint and

342 lacquered with various intricate adornments, as, for example, bone inlaid in the doors, various pegs on the bakans, and the like. Such a framework would cost about 100 silver rubles, and sometimes more. The simplest yurt construction of medium size, without felt and other non-wooden appurtenances, costs at least around 20 rubles among the Kazakhs, and usually goes up to 30 rubles and more.

2) The chiy facing consists of woven matting made from the steppe plant chiy (Lasiagrostis splendens). (1)

1. Cf. p. 117 /On p. 117 it is stated that in the lower Alay valley/ feather-grass and chiy are the predominant grasses.

This woven matting is placed inside and sometimes outside the side frame, serving, first of all, as a decoration of the yurt, and secondly, to protect the inside of it from dust on windy days when the lower part of the felt cover is usually raised to let the current of air come through. The cloth woven of chiy may be of various sizes, and sometimes one cloth covers the entire yurt. Among the rich the chiy is wound with silk thread, among the poor, if at all, with wool, and it happens that they dispense with matting altogether. /397/ But in the winter, in such a case, it is too cold in the yurt, and therefore few poor men deny themselves this luxury.

3) The felt covering consists of side pieces of felt of varying lengths from 6 to 7 feet (2 1/2 to 3 arshins) wide; of upper pieces which are wider but shorter, with a special

8:Kostenko 104-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
Kazak Rd2

pattern which fits the upper part of the tent; and of a special piece of felt (tunduk), covering the chagarak. The first are fastened to the upper and lower parts of the kerege, the second are thrown over the uks with the help of the bakans, and spread over the top of the tent with the help of ropes which are attached to their corners, or, to speak more exactly, with the help of a special long wide braid, which encompasses the entire side cover of the yurt, and the other end of the braid is fastened somewhere, to the door, or to some sort of peg hammered into the ground. Finally, the tunduk felt also has a long wide braid fastened to all its four corners, with the other end fastened outside the yurt to one of the braids or loops which hold it. In this way at night when the tunduk felt covers the chagarak, all four braids are fastened, while in the daytime, to admit light into the yurt, or to let the smoke from the hearth escape, one of the tunduk braids is unfastened (the one attached to the corner of the tunduk which is in the direction from which the wind blows). Then the corner which is unfastened in this way is thrown open with the help of a bakan. When the wind changes, and the smoke has no free outlet, and the yurt begins to fill with soot, then this corner of the tunduk felt is fastened down again, and a new corner is opened in the same way. With the help of this arrangement the Kazakh is always able to direct the draught, and the fire laid in the center of the tent does not smoke. When it is necessary to smoke meat or something else, which is hung from the chagarak or from the ropes which stretch through the whole yurt, they do the contrary or even close the tunduk entirely,

342 and raise the door felt to let out the smoke.

The felt used for the covering of the yurt is usually grey; among the rich one sometimes comes across white felt, but rarely, because /398/ stylishness is not achieved by this means but lies in having felt pieces of various sizes intended in advance for certain purposes. It is not easy to bunch together a piece of felt which is too wide or too long, and also large pieces of felt are too bulky, and considerably complicate folding, packing and trasport. On the other hand with the fixed 6 foot (2½ arshin) width, the longer the side felt, the smaller the number of slits in the tent, the darker it is in winter, and vice versa. For the upper uk felts, the length has no special importance, but the width must correspond to the length of the uks and must even be considerably longer, because the further the felt comes down the side of the yurt, the pleasanter, that means, the warmer it is inside the tent. The rich actually have these kinds of convenient pieces, which do not bother them in packing and unpacking of the yurt because each one has plenty of workmen. In winter some bais put a second layer of the same material on top of the felt cover. On the other hand the one layer of felt which covers the tents of the poor is so full of holes, that in the winter the occupants' teeth chatter from the cold, while in the summer, especially when it rains, there is no more refreshing place than his modest dwelling.

4) The ties which fasten all the parts of the yurt together are mostly made of loops of various sizes, but since the constant

342 rubbing of the ropes over the felt would cut down their length of durability, all those which are to be next to the felt which covers the tent have pieces of camel's hair braid fastened to their ends, of various lengths and widths. These braids are also stretched out inside the tent to hang up the clothes on them which are used every day, using the loops in such cases only for decoration. In addition to these, other supports are set up within the yurt besides the bakans, of varying style and beauty, which are also used for hanging up things.

This is the entire structure of the Kazakh dwelling. As we see, it fully answers all the conditions listed above, which are demanded of it by the nomads. A complete yurt of medium size with grey felts costs the Kazakh about 100 rubles, many 150. Consequently to prepare such a yurt for every daughter who is being married /399/ is not burdensome, if the kalym (bride's dowry) is intelligently disposed of. Under proper management the repair of the yurts in the aul is also not difficult. Only the repair of the wooden framework sometimes costs money. Everything else is taken care of within the household, and therefore there are not even any expenses for all the remaining parts of the dwelling for the Kazakhs.

The dwelling is perfectly suited to the climactic peculiarities of the steppe. The strongest winds do not upset the tent, and at the same time, no matter how complex the tent is, it is not fastened down to the ground, so that this does not interfere with rapid assembling and dismantling. In the summer on

342 days of suffocating heat it is cool and there is no dust inside. During heavy frost it remains quite warm within the good tent covers, [164] and only the smoke from the hearth is bad for the eyes, developing the eye disease, which is one of the most wide spread diseases among the nomads.

The yurt, containing all the property of the Kazakh, and providing certain conveniences for the disposal of various household articles, can be dismantled and assembled easily and quickly, in about half an hour, can be loaded conveniently and is light enough so that [492] the whole establishment of a tent of medium size can be packed on one camel. All the felts, piled up in several layers, are put over the backbone of the animal; the kerege, the uks, and the chiy mats, rolled up into a tube, are hung on his sides, while the chagarak is put over the humps, and all this is very skilfully looped on. This same camel with his load, when he comes to a new station, at the place where the yurt is to be - indicated by a lance which has been left in the ground by the householder when he went there ahead - is quickly unloaded, two women set up the kerege according to the indicated circumference with kanaats, and fasten them; two others or the same ones. after finishing the first job, put up the chagarak over the center of the space being formed, with the help of bakans, insert the uks into it, and at once fasten the other ends to the side screen, which they cover with chiy and side felts, on top of the uk they put the felts and the tunduk felt, fasten all this down, and the tent is ready within the half hour. On the floor of the yurt they spread out felts leaving in the center

342 a /400/ small space for the hearth. Over the felt, among the rich, they spread rugs, naples rugs, and so on, and sometimes, in order to give more decoration to the tent, they hang them along the walls. Across the tent they stretch ropes and various braids; they hammer in pegs; they bring in their things. Finally, in the middle of the tent they start a fire, put up a tripod, and on it a kettle of water, and prepare the food.

415 The necessary utensils, both for the rich, the moderately wealthy and the poorest yurt are: the tripods, of various sizes, set up over the fire, the cast iron kettles, also of various sizes, wooden troughs for washing the meat, others for storage of beef extract, also wooden dishes, on which they serve the [412] smaller pieces of meat on the table. In order to cut meat into still smaller pieces every Kazakh has a small knife (pyshak) carefully kept in a sheath hung on his belt. There are also wooden, leather and metal pails, tubs, vats, milk pails, sabas (large skins for kumys), tursuks (small skins for kumys), and other vessels of various shapes and sizes, for the storage of milk, cheeses, meat, and for bouillon which is poured from large kettles, and is sometimes drunk at the meat table. There are [373] also wooden mortars, cups for drinking kumys (fermented mare's milk) and for various other uses, and sometimes metal and earthenware [372] plates, leather bags for gathering tezek (dry cow dung, used for fuel), as well as teapots and metal kumgans (pitcher with spout, handle and lid for washing hands) and other appurtenances of the kitchen and table. The more breakable and the more or less valuable objects

251 between the beds and the door. If there is one bed, then the provisions are stored in the side opposite it, in which case the place where they are stored is walled off by a chiy matting to protect it from the dogs, but in spite of this they sometimes get behind the matting at night. Thus all the walls of the tent are shown to be piled up with the miserable household articles of the Kazakhs, but all the space around the
513 hearth is free. During the day the whole family gathers just in this spot, while at night the small children, little girls, workmen and
403/ guests spending the night make their
264 beds here. The space between the campfire and the pile of packages is the place where they dine, sitting in a circle around the dish which is placed before the head of the house. He has the place of honor, that is, just opposite the door, and right among the packages. He gives up this place only to a distinguished guest, an elder, a biy who is passing by for for dinner, etc. In this case the head of the house sits
513 beside these persons, on their right. If it happens that the honored guest is to spend the night, they put him in the place where they ate. If not, the girls sleep there, the boys spread out on the right and left of the fire, and the workmen by the door.

342 The cost of a good new yurt is from 30
[435] to 150 rubles, sometimes more. A small yurt is called 'dzhulameika' in Kazakh pronunciation, and 'yulameika' in Sart and Russian. The dzhulameika costs no more than 30 rubles. In addition the Kazakhs still use the kosh, the most simplified primitive kind of yurt. This is simply a felt which is placed over straight poles stuck into the ground and tied together

8. Kostenko 113-G-4, 5 (1868-80) 1880 RLI Turkestan
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342 at the top so that the kosh looks like a felt cone.

[177] The incomparable qualities of a yurt in summer have been appreciated not only by the armies but also by the Russian inhabitants of Turkestan. The householder who is only the slightest bit wealthy provides himself with such a yurt or yulameika, which he puts up in his garden near his house. In such yulameikas they can be free of the suffocating heat which makes it impossible to sleep in the house.

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A Description of Some Important Populated Places

A description of the town of Tashkent; the Asiatic and Russian parts. Vernyi /Alma Ata/. Kuldja. Samarkand. Khodzhent /Leninabad/. Ura-Tyube.

Tashkent

T
361 Tashkent is the center of the government of the whole region of Turkestan. Both in size and in expanse it is one of the most spacious towns not only in the Turkestan region but in all of Central Asia. In number of inhabitants it is comparable only with Bukhara, and in expanse with Kokand. This is one of the oldest towns, and its origin is lost in the mists of time. It is situated at 41° 19'32" north, and 38° 57'58" east. Tashkent is located on a flat plateau beginning about 30 versts from Chimkent, and is surrounded on three sides with gardens, while the fourth side is contiguous with the Russian town.